

The Text of John in Fortunatianus of Aquileia's Commentary on the Gospels

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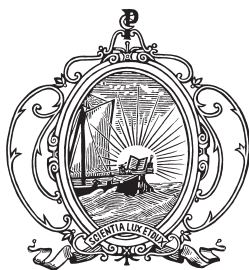
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The Text of *John* in Fortunatianus of Aquileia's Commentary on the Gospels

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ABSTRACT

In 2012, Lukas J. Dorfbauer identified an anonymous work in a ninth-century manuscript belonging to Cologne Cathedral Library as the *Commentary on the Gospels* written in the middle of the fourth century by Fortunatianus, Bishop of Aquileia. Although a couple of short extracts have been passed down from this, one of the earliest Latin gospel commentaries, mentioned by Jerome, it was otherwise believed to have been lost. The present study analyses the text of the Gospel according to John in Dorfbauer's provisional edition of the commentary. It first treats the illustrative quotations, then the biblical text in the chapter titles and finally the verses of the Gospel cited in Fortunatianus' exposition. Comparison of these with all surviving early witnesses to the Latin text of *John* confirms that they have an Old Latin affiliation, with numerous similarities to other North Italian witnesses of the time. It therefore seems likely that, by and large, the Cologne manuscript transmits the text of *John* used by Fortunatianus. A reconstruction of this text is supplied in an Appendix.

The rediscovery by Lukas J. Dorfbauer of the commentary on the Gospels by Fortunatianus, bishop of Aquileia in the middle of the fourth century, is one of the most exciting patristic finds of the modern era. The only portions of the work known previously were three short extracts in exegetical compilations identified by Wilmart and Bischoff.² All of these are present in the anonymous Commentary on the Gospels (*Regula Evangeliorum Quattuor*) in Cologne, Cathedral Library MS 17, which displays several other indications of being the work of an early Latin author: in the identification of the evangelists with the four creatures of Ezekiel and Revelation, Mark is associated with the eagle and

¹ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 283302 (COMPAUL). This article is based on a presentation at the Fifth British Patristics Conference in London in September 2014.

² See A. Wilmart, 'Deux expositions d'un évêque Fortunat sur l'évangile', *Revue Bénédictine* 32 (1920), 160-74 (on Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 653) and B. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 189-281 (on Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 55). These fragments were printed by V. Bulhart in *Corpus Christianorum series latina* 9 (1957).

John with the lion; the preposition *cata* rather than *secundum* is used in the gospel titles; the proper noun for Luke takes the form *Lucanus* rather than *Lucas*.³ The almost complete text present in the Cologne manuscript has enabled Dorfbauer to identify further witnesses to the commentary, most notably Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 64, as well as numerous instances of its use in later writers including an incomplete exposition of a portion of *Matthew* under the name of Epiphanius Latinus, two tractates ascribed to Hilary of Poitiers, an extract formerly identified as part of Chromatius' commentary and several sermons in the pseudo-Augustinian corpus.⁴ A full edition is currently being prepared by Dorfbauer for publication in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* series.⁵

After a prologue detailing various schemes of classifying the four evangelists and an initial exposition of the opening of *Matthew* up to the death of Herod, the commentary gives a list of short biblical extracts, described as *singula capitula ad breue <ut> lectionem quam uelis celerius inuenias* ('individual chapter titles for a summary so that you may quickly find the section you wish', lines 586-7). These correspond to the *tituli ordinati* ('ordered titles') mentioned in the brief description of Fortunatianus' work given in Jerome, *De uiris illustribus* 97. There are 129 titles for *Matthew*, covering the whole gospel and including the two harmonising interpolations found in the majority of Old Latin gospel books at *Matthew* 20:28 and 24:41. These are followed by 13 titles for *Luke*, only extending from the modern chapters 2 to 5, and 18 titles for *John*, from the opening to the end of the Wedding at Cana. The *capitula* conclude with a brief mention of *Mark* which, like the other Gospels, is seen as largely covering the same material as *Matthew*. The remaining three-quarters of the text is devoted to the exposition of these 160 sections in sequence, each introduced with the biblical text of the *capitulum* and supplemented with quotations from the rest of the passage.

³ Lukas J. Dorfbauer, 'Der Evangelienkommentar des Bischofs Fortunatian von Aquileia (Mitte 4. Jh.). Ein Neufund auf dem Gebiet der patristischen Literatur', *Wiener Studien* 126 (2013), 177-98 and *id.*, 'Der Codex Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibl. 17. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferung des Evangelienkommentars des Bischofs Fortunatian von Aquileia', in Heinz Finger and Harald Horst (eds), *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek. Fünftes Symposium* (Cologne, 2014), 21-68. A complete set of digital images of the manuscript has been available since 2002 among the *Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis* (<http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>).

⁴ For details of these, see L.J. Dorfbauer, 'Der Evangelienkommentar' (2014), 194-7 and *id.*, 'Neue Zeugnisse für die Überlieferung und Rezeption des Evangelienkommentars des Bischofs Fortunatian von Aquileia', in Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Lukas J. Dorfbauer and Clemens Weidmann (eds), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte* (Berlin, 2014), 17-40.

⁵ I would like to thank Dr Dorfbauer for our extensive correspondence on the topic of Fortunatianus' biblical text and extremely helpful comments on a draft of this article. He kindly provided me with a provisional version of his edition for my presentation in September 2014: the present study is based on his text of September 2015, and line numbers may be subject to further alteration.

As Fortunatianus' commentary precedes the revision of the Gospels made by Jerome in 382 and the other books later adopted as the Vulgate, the author would have relied on an Old Latin text of the Bible.⁶ In certain other early Latin commentaries, however, biblical quotations were updated by editors (or even subconsciously adjusted by copyists) in order to conform to a text in later circulation.⁷ Scriptural *lemmata* preceding sections of commentary are most vulnerable to such substitution, as they follow the sequence of the biblical text and indicate the exact reference for users; quotations provided elsewhere as illustrations are least likely to be compared with a scriptural codex by a reviser, but, as the author may have quoted from memory, they were often less precise in the first place. The comparison of different types of reference with each other and with the rest of surviving biblical tradition is necessary to determine the confidence with which quotations in a particular work may be taken to represent the biblical text used by the author. The goal of the present study is to carry out this analysis for the Gospel according to *John* in Fortunatianus' commentary on the Gospels: in so doing, it will also assemble the evidence from this new source for inclusion in the published and forthcoming fascicles of the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*.⁸ A reconstructed text is supplied in the Appendix.

Illustrative Citations

There are 52 quotations of *John* by Fortunatianus outside his commentary on the opening part of this gospel. Most of these display readings characteristic of Old Latin tradition, although there are also a number of unique features. The quotation of *John* 12:24 at line 1552 onwards offers a good example:

sicut in alio loco euidenter ostenditur, quando Graeci quidam uenerunt ad Philippum rogantes, ut dominum uiderent, sed dixit dominus, quod *nisi granum tritici in terram missum mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet; si autem mortuum fuisset, multum fructum adferret*.

The use of *Graeci* rather than *gentiles* in the introduction matches the earliest surviving Latin gospel manuscripts, which also have *tritici* where the Vulgate reads *frumenti*.⁹ The phrase *in terram missum*, however, is not found here in

⁶ The commentary was written at some point between 337 and 361: see Lukas J. Dorfbauer, 'Zur Biographie des Bischofs Fortunatian von Aquileia', *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 17 (2013), 395–423, which also offers the fullest presentation of Fortunatianus' life.

⁷ One well-known example is the textual tradition of Pelagius' commentary on Paul. For a detailed study of a similar situation, see H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Biblical Text of Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians*', *JTS* ns 65 (2014), 1–24.

⁸ P.H. Burton, H.A.G. Houghton, R.F. MacLachlan, D.C. Parker (eds), *Euangelium secundum Iohannem. Vetus Latina* 19 (Freiburg): Fasc. 1: *John* 1:1–4:48 (2011); Fasc. 2: *John* 4:49–9:41 (2013).

⁹ The editorial text of the Stuttgart Vulgate (R. Weber, R. Gryson et al. [eds], *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, fifth ed. [Stuttgart, 2008]) is used as the standard for the Vulgate in this study.

any biblical codex. What is more, at line 2020, Fortunatianus cites the standard Old Latin form of the phrase, *nisi granum tritici cadens in terra*. There is no attested Greek alternative which would support *missum* rather than *cadens*, and the simplest explanation of its appearance is that it is an error of memory. The only other instance of *in terram missum* in patristic writings occurs in Chromatius of Aquileia, whom Dorfbauer has identified as often dependent on his predecessor's commentary.¹⁰ The sequence of tenses in the final clause, *fuisse ... adferret*, also without parallel in surviving gospel manuscripts, is probably a further indication of adaptation through reliance on memory.

Other Old Latin forms found in illustrative citations include a single *amen* and *renatus* for *natus* in *John* 3:3 (line 3064), *susum* rather than *sursum* in 3:31 (line 1615), *esca* for *cibum* in 4:34 (line 1516), *panis uitae* rather than *panis uiuus* at 6:51 (line 410), *principium quod* in 8:25 (line 2957), *animam suam ponit pro ouibus suis* in 10:11 (line 1453), the addition of *nos* in 19:15 (line 76, 501 and 785)¹¹ and *percussus* in a reworking of 19:34 (line 1996). All of these are indications of the transmission of a pre-Vulgate text, which may reasonably be taken as corresponding to that used by Fortunatianus. Where a reading is peculiar to this commentary, further investigation is required to determine whether it is an error of memory or a genuine alternative which has not otherwise been preserved. For instance, at line 2912, *John* 17:5 is quoted as *honora me eo honore quo fui apud te priusquam mundus esset*. Both the context and the omission of the phrase *pater apud te ipsum* indicates that this quotation is not likely to have been taken directly from a gospel codex, and there is no exact correspondence with any surviving witness. However, the use of *honore* to render *δοξάζειν* is attested elsewhere (*John* 21:19 in VL 2, 14), as well as *honor* for *δόξα* (e.g. *John* 8:54 in VL 4, 13, 14), suggesting that each could have occurred here in a manuscript now lost. *Quo fui* is more problematic: all gospel codices read *quam habui* or *quam habebam*, probably deriving from *ἦν εἶχον*. Nevertheless, it is possible that *quo fui* is an attempt to render the alternative reading *ἦν εἶχον*: what is more, this is present in the citations of this verse at Novatian, *De trinitate* 13 and 26 (as well as Augustine, *Contra Adimantum* 9) demonstrating its currency prior to Fortunatianus. Clearly this is not an error, and neither is the placing of *apud te* which is paralleled in both Greek and Latin codices. Similarly, the presence of *insufflauit in eos* in *John* 21:5 in VL 5 suggests that Fortunatianus' *insufflauit in illos* (line 65) may stem from a lost biblical exemplar even though most gospel

¹⁰ See note 4 above; this passage also occurs in the portion of Chromatius' commentary on *Matthew* now identified as an extract from Fortunatianus (CHRO Mt 50A). The quotation at Chromatius, *Sermo* 30.2, reads: *nisi granum tritici missum fuerit in terra, solum manet. Cum autem mortum fuerit, multum fructum affert*. If the quotations are independent, this may be evidence for a form of biblical text characteristic of Aquileia.

¹¹ This Old Latin feature is omitted by the Zürich manuscript.

books just read *insufflavit*. A contrasting example occurs in the citation of *John* 8:44 at line 1537, where Fortunatianus has *perficere* rather than *facere*. Absent from surviving biblical codices, the other attestations of this are found in Chromatius' commentary on *Matthew*, the *De induratione cordis Pharaonis* ascribed to Pelagius and manuscripts of Quodvultdeus and Caesarius of Arles, all of which are subsequent to Fortunatianus. Although *perficere* is a possible translation of ποιεῖν, it is rather overemphatic: in the Vulgate, it normally corresponds to τελειῶσαι. While an alternative rendering in *John* 8:44 cannot be ruled out, it seems more likely that Fortunatianus (and perhaps also his successors) were influenced by *perficere* in a similar context at *John* 4:34 or 5:36.

On several occasions, readings unique to Fortunatianus appear to be slips of memory or glosses inserted into the biblical text. At line 410, the substitution of *non morietur in aeternum* for *uiuet in aeternum* in *John* 6:51 is probably a conflation with *John* 11:26. The quotation of *John* 1:14 at line 43 ends *gloriam quasi unigeniti missi a patre*. There is no other example of *missi* in Latin tradition, and it may be influenced by *John* 1:6 (where it corresponds to ἀπεσταλμένος). A few lines later, *John* 7:38 is quoted in the Cologne manuscript as *flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uitae* (line 59). The last word may be a copying error for *uiuae*, as found in the other witnesses, or, if it is original, a reminiscence of *Revelation* 22:1 or 22:17. It is unlikely to represent a variant in *John* unattested in direct Greek or Latin tradition, particularly as *aqua uiua* (ὕδωρ ζῶν) is a common phrase in this Gospel. At line 151, Fortunatianus gives *John* 15:15 as *iam non dicam uos seruos sed fratres*. While the future rather than the present is found elsewhere in Old Latin tradition, this is the sole example of *fratres* for *amicos*. Given Fortunatianus' emphasis on *fratres* in his exposition, this erroneous reading may be part of his inherited tradition rather than a mistake of memory.¹² The quotation of *John* 8:44 at line 2356 reads *ille ab initio mendax fuit et homicida*. Both terms are repeated in the following sentence, yet only *homicida* is found at this point in biblical manuscripts: *mendax* occurs at the end of the verse. Still, there is substantial patristic support for *mendax* in this clause, including Tertullian, the Latin Irenaeus, Priscillian and Jerome. Fortunatianus' form looks to be a doublet, combining both readings: such doublets are relatively common in the tradition of the Latin Bible. It is even possible that Fortunatianus' text may derive from a biblical codex in which the standard form was appended to an earlier reading, but, as it stands,

¹² The only other instances of *fratres* in Latin tradition are in works now shown to derive from Fortunatianus: Pseudo-Hilarius (Pictauensis), *Tractatus* 1.2 and Pseudo-Augustinus, *Sermones Casinenses* II.63 and II.62. Even so, it is worth noting that in Greek tradition there are three examples of a doublet in this verse (φίλους καὶ ἀδελφούς): Pseudo-Didymus of Alexandria, *De trinitate* 3.5; the work *In exaltationem uenerandae crucis* attributed to Chrysostom; *De uirtute* by Ephraem the Syrian.

the brief quotation is best explained as his own conflation of the two terms.¹³ There is a profusion of otherwise unattested forms in Fortunatianus' version of *John* 19:27 at line 353: *et recepit eam discipulus ille apud se ex illa die*. Both Old Latin and Vulgate traditions are largely in agreement, reading *et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in sua*. The only parallel for Fortunatianus is *discipulus ille* in VL 3: given the difference in word order and the absence of support for these variants in other patristic writings, the most likely scenario is that this is an adaptation of the verse in Fortunatianus' own words rather than an otherwise lost version.

Despite the overall Old Latin affiliation of the citations of *John*, two possible counterexamples present forms more typical of the Vulgate. First, in chap. LXV, *John* 12:31 is cited as *princeps huius mundi eicietur foras*, whereas the Old Latin tradition prefers *mittetur* to *eicietur*. This passage is missing from the Cologne manuscript, and the witnesses in which it is found stem from a common ancestor in which both biblical and commentary text were shortened and adjusted.¹⁴ As all four citations in this paragraph match the Vulgate it seems likely that editorial intervention has taken place. The other text with an apparent Vulgate affiliation is a reference to *John* 5 at line 1803:

siue autem hoc loco quinque porticus, in quibus *multitudo languentium iacebat*...

The earliest Old Latin witnesses have *infirmorum* or *infirmantium* rather than *languentium* in *John* 5:3 and prefer *decumbebat* to *iacebat*. Nonetheless, the Vulgate also adds *magna* after *multitudo*. Fortunatianus' form of text corresponds to two Old Latin codices, VL 11 and VL 14, as well as Chromatius, while *languentium* is also found in VL 8 and 11A and *iacebat* in VL 13. These witnesses often represent the latest stage of the Old Latin text in Italy: the distribution here indicates that – despite the overlap with the Vulgate – neither of these renderings is peculiar to Jerome's revised text. Instead, the diagnostic feature is the addition of *magna* reflecting πολύ in Greek tradition, which is lacking in Fortunatianus.

A couple of other interesting readings are worthy of mention. At line 352, the Cologne manuscript has *hic filius tuus* in *John* 19:26. While there are a handful of examples of *hic est* for ἴδε in patristic references to *John* 1:29, given that Fortunatianus' subsequent quotation of the following verse is *ecce mater tua*, the form *hic* appears to be a copying error rather than an alternative translation.¹⁵

¹³ There is also evidence for a doublet in Greek tradition: Epiphanius, *Panarion* 3, reads ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ψεύστης ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνθρωποκτόνος.

¹⁴ These are the Zürich manuscript and London, British Library, Arundel 213. Biblical quotations in these witnesses are often abbreviated with the indication *et reliqua* (e.g. lines 14, 41, 92, 102 etc.). In his edition of September 2015, Dorfbauer has excised this problematic section from his editorial text.

¹⁵ The other four witnesses to Fortunatianus' text here all read *ecce*, and his commentary has the expected form *ecce* in *John* 1:29 and *John* 1:36. It is possible that *hic est agnus dei* in

At line 2913, Fortunatianus cites *John* 1:1-3 with the last verse as *omnia per eum facta sunt et sine eo factum est nihil*. On all seven other occasions, this is given in a form matching the Vulgate, *omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil*.¹⁶ The alternative version is almost identical to the reading of VL 4 (*per eum ... sine eum*), a north Italian fourth-century text with which Fortunatianus has notable other agreements, discussed below. However, it is difficult to determine whether this one instance represents Fortunatianus' original text, which has been obscured elsewhere by the accommodation of the quotations to the standard form, or whether the aberration is due to Fortunatianus' citing loosely on this occasion or possibly even inattentiveness on the part of a copyist familiar with the differing version. The presence of Old Latin forms throughout the quotations of *John* tells against a thoroughgoing attempt to conform the biblical citations to the Vulgate, but in the case of this very well-known verse, subconscious alteration may well have taken place – although why this should not affect line 2913 when it is present at lines 2936, 2953 and 2957 is unclear. It seems more satisfactory to suggest that Fortunatianus was familiar with multiple versions of this verse and, at line 2913, the end of his first citation of the opening verses of *John* in the preface to his exposition of this Gospel, he reverted to a different form from memory.¹⁷

The Chapter Titles

The eighteen titles for the Gospel according to *John* occur between lines 745 and 762. Eleven of these short extracts from the opening verse of each section feature differences from the Vulgate. Most of these are paralleled in surviving gospel codices: *in ipso uita est* (III, *John* 1:4), *in hoc mundo erat* (V, *John* 1:10), *in sua propria uenit* (VI, *John* 1:11), *nisi unigenitus filius* (X, *John* 1:18), *interrogauerunt eum iterum dicentes* (XI, *John* 1:21), omission of *erant* and *a* rather than *ex* (XII, *John* 1:24), *postera autem die uidit* (XIII, *John* 1:29), *postera die uoluit proficisci* (XVI, *John* 1:43), *tertia die* (XVII, *John* 2:1) and *dicat illis* with the omission of *nunc* (XVIII, *John* 2:8). The closest match among the principal Old Latin manuscripts is offered by VL 4 (Codex Veronensis),

John 1:29 betrays liturgical influence or is influenced by *hic est* in the following verse. It occurs in Maximus of Turin, the Collection of Arian homilies in a Verona manuscript and also Rufinus' translation of Origen's commentary on *Romans*; see also the conflation *ecce hic est* in Maximinus' quotation of *John* 1:36. There is one reference to *John* 19:27 which reads *tua haec est mater* (Mozarabic Sacramentary 1314), but this is too loose to justify the reconstruction of an otherwise unattested form.

¹⁶ It is cited at line 42, in the *capitulum* at line 746, in the preface to the section on *John* at lines 2913, 2936, 2953 and 2957, and in the exposition itself at line 2992ff.

¹⁷ For parallels in Augustine's commentary on *John*, see H.A.G. Houghton, 'Augustine's Adoption of the Vulgate Gospels', *NTS* 54 (2008), 450-64, especially 458-9.

which corresponds to 12 of these 14 non-Vulgate readings (86%), and VL 14 (Codex Usserianus primus), which matches 10 of the 11 for which it is extant (91%):¹⁸ next in line is VL 2, with 8 of 14 readings (57%). The close relationship between VL 4 and 14 is well known: their text is believed to represent an Old Latin form current in north Italy in the middle of the fourth century, the same time and place as Fortunatianus.¹⁹ There are, however, also several points of disagreement between these witnesses and the chapter titles, such as *testimonium perhibet* in *John* 1:15 (VIII) rather than *testificatur*, and *dicit* rather than *ait* in 2:8 (XVIII). The most notable is at *John* 1:35, where VL 4 and 14 have *postera die*, in keeping with the other examples given above, but title XV reads *altera iterum die*. This suggests that Fortunatianus' version may have been inconsistent or there may have been subsequent interference with the text of certain titles.

There are two non-Vulgate readings in the chapter titles which are not found in Old Latin manuscripts. The first is the word order *altera iterum die* in title XV (*John* 1:35) which has just been mentioned: the Vulgate and a number of Old Latin witnesses have *altera die iterum*, while others read *postera* (or *alia*) *autem die*. This unique form may be a further indication that Fortunatianus' text has been adjusted in some way, additional evidence for which is provided by the appearance of the regular Vulgate form in the commentary itself (see below). The other is the form of *John* 1:6 in title III, *fuit homo missus a deo nomine Iohannis*. All Old Latin sources (apart from a couple of works translated from Greek) read *cui nomen erat* rather than *nomine*. However, at *John* 3:1, the same construction (ὄνομα αὐτοῦ) is rendered as *nomine* in the Vulgate and a large proportion of earlier tradition. This suggests that the chapter title, likely to have been drawn from a biblical manuscript, may preserve an otherwise lost Old Latin form.

The chapter titles also appear at the head of each section of exposition in the commentary on *John*, normally as part of a longer extract from the biblical text. In all but four cases, the text matches that of the earlier list in lines 745-62. Two of these exceptions relate to the verses discussed in the previous paragraph: the standard form *cui nomen erat Iohannis* is the reading for *John* 1:6 at line 3019, while *altera die iterum* occurs in *John* 1:35 at line 3192. In line 3138, *John* 1:24 reads *ex Fariseis*, matching the majority of Latin gospels, whereas title XII has *a Farisaeis*; this preposition is only found in VL 14. Finally, in *John* 2:1, title XVII reads *tertia die* in the initial list, but *die tertio*

¹⁸ In fact, if VL 14 is reconstructed as reading *tertia die* in *John* 2:1, it would agree 100% with Fortunatianus: Abbott's edition gives *tertio*, but the most recent digital images show a discolouration within this faded line which could be interpreted as the right hand stroke of a final *a*.

¹⁹ On the connection of these manuscripts, see R. Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften/Manuscripts Vieux-Latins*, *Vetus Latina* 1/2A (Freiburg, 1999), 24 and 37. The third member of this group, VL 22, is barely extant for this portion of *John*.

in line 3274 preceding the exposition. In the next line, however, Fortunatianus quotes the verse with *die tertia*, also found at line 3279 of the commentary, yet at line 3283 he reverts to *die tertio*. This inconsistency may reflect the confusion of *o* and *a* in minuscule script (as attested elsewhere in the Cologne manuscript), the influence of the Vulgate on copyists, or Fortunatianus' own confusion about the gender of *diem* in the face of changing Latin usage.²⁰ Given that the other three cases of differences between the headings and the commentary all represent a change towards the Vulgate, it seems to be the case that some minor adjustments have been made to the biblical text during the process of transmission, despite the overall Old Latin affiliation of the chapter titles.

The Gospel Text in the Commentary on *John*

The commentary on *John* (lines 2892-3351, with the exegesis itself starting at line 2976) includes quotations from 49 of the first 62 verses of the Gospel.²¹ As noted above, each of the eighteen numbered sections of commentary usually begins with a more extensive portion of the gospel text than that quoted in the initial list of chapter titles. Subsequent verses are cited during the course of the exposition, along with illustrative material from throughout the Bible. The text of the Gospel cited only in this section features a number of non-Vulgate readings, most of which are paralleled in surviving Old Latin codices. This persistence of earlier forms indicates that, by and large, the version of the Gospel used by the author may have been faithfully transmitted. As Fortunatianus is likely to have been reliant on a gospel codex for the verses of *John* quoted sequentially in his commentary, the evidence of these quotations can be used to reconstruct a text reflecting his exemplar in mid fourth-century Aquileia (as provided in the Appendix).

Similarities have already been observed between Fortunatianus' citations and the text of *John* in VL 4 and 14, although the latter is lacunose in a number of verses at the beginning of the Gospel. These persist in the commentary section. Notable parallels with VL 4 alone occur in *John* 1:12 (line 3050), with *credentibus* rather than *his qui credunt*, and 1:26 (line 3140) with the addition of *paenitentiae*. VL 4 is the only manuscript also to read *erat enim hora* in *John* 1:39 (line 3199), although Fortunatianus then uniquely has *diei decima*: there is no other evidence for *diei*, which does not match the Greek ὥς, and

²⁰ Although his biblical citations usually treat *dies* as feminine (e.g. lines 354, 1057, 2009, 2498 etc.), away from the biblical context Fortunatianus considers *dies* as masculine (lines 1512, 1545, 2209, 2676 and 2929).

²¹ The following verses are not quoted: *John* 1:7-9, 1:30-2, 1:37, 1:40-1, 1:44, 1:50, 2:2 and 2:10.

might be considered an expansion of *hora* or possibly even a misreading of one of the attested renderings of ὥς such as *quasi* or *fere*. Other readings are shared by VL 4 and 14 among a number of Old Latin codices, such as *quoniam de plenitudine* in *John* 1:16 (line 3079), *gratia autem et ueritas* in 1:17 (lines 3081 and 3088), *ait* rather than *dicit* in 1:21 (line 3101), the additional *ecce* before *qui tollit* in 1:29 (line 3111 and 3136), *manes* rather than *habitas* in 1:38 (as shown by *ubinam maneret* at line 3198), the omission of *singulae* in 2:6 (line 3318; VL 14 is lacunose) and *nesciebat* rather than *non sciebat* in 2:9 (cf. lines 3334 and 3336). There are also a few which VL 4 has in common with other manuscripts despite a differing form in VL 14, including *illi* rather than *ei* in 1:43 (line 3231), *ad filium hominis* in 1:51 (line 3260) and the word order *erat ibi mater Iesu* in 2:1 (line 3274); conversely VL 14 supports *uidit* rather than *uidet* in 1:29 (line 3172) and *dixit* rather than *dicit* in 1:43 (line 3231).

Nevertheless, a number of Old Latin readings do not correspond to the text of either VL 4 or VL 14. Among these are the addition of *dic nobis* after *es* in *John* 1:22 (line 3114) and *arbore fici* rather than *ficu* or *arbore ficulnea* in 1:48 (line 3250). Others are peculiar to VL 10 and 13: the addition of *tu* in *John* 1:22 (line 3114), *dixit* rather than *dicit* in 2:5 (line 3309, cf. VL 2) and both *primum* and *initium* in 2:11 (line 3348), which corresponds to an early Greek form.²² VL 13 also provides further parallels in company with other Old Latin codices: *quoniam* in *John* 1:20 (with VL 2 and 30, line 3097), the order *descendentes et ascendentes* in 1:51 (with VL 9A, line 3260) and *uero* rather than *autem* in 2:9 (with VL 33, line 3334). It is also the sole manuscript with *uerus* for *uere* in 1:47 (line 3245), a form also found in the Latin Irenaeus, Rufinus and Jerome. Some readings are only attested by VL 2 and/or VL 3, including *illum* for *eum* in *John* 1:10 (line 3032), *respondens illis* in 1:26 (line 3139), *et dixit* in 1:36 (line 3193) and the omission of *positae* from 2:6 and *nunc* from 2:8 (lines 3316 and 3332 respectively). This variety of early forms is consistent with an Old Latin exemplar which Fortunatianus would have used for his biblical text.

Alongside the earlier readings, however, are readings typical of the later stage in Latin biblical tradition which immediately preceded the Vulgate. None of these are features necessarily indicative of the Vulgate itself: the addition of *uobis* after *dixi* in *John* 1:15 (line 3076), the word order *non sum ego* in 1:20 (line 3097), the rendering *nesciebam* rather than *ignorabam* or *non sciebam* in 1:33 (line 3181) and *deficiente uino* in 2:3 (line 3291) are all found in mixed-text gospel codices such as VL 6 and VL 10.²³ Even so, renderings such as *testimonium perhibeo* for μαρτυρέω in *John* 1:15 and 1:34 (lines 3075 and 3183) are characteristic of this later group, as is the addition of *de caelo* and

²² The addition of πρώτην is attested by the first hands of P66 and Codex Sinaiticus.

²³ The only Old Latin manuscript which reads *non sum dignus corrigiam calciamenti soluere* in *John* 1:27 (line 3151) is the mixed-text VL 15.

super eum rather than *in eum* in 1:33 (line 3182), *quia* rather than *quoniam* in 1:34 (line 3183) and *ei* for *illi* on both occasions in 1:46 (line 3236). Occasionally, these are shared with a representative of an earlier text, such as the addition of *qui est* in *John* 1:45 (line 3236), which is also in VL 22; *electus dei* in 1:34 (line 3183) and the extra *fili* at the end of 2:3 (line 3300) are both matched by VL 2. The overall textual affiliation of the verses in which such readings are present rarely aligns with one particular strand of transmission, as is exemplified by the quotation of *John* 1:26 at line 3139:

respondens illis Iohannis dixit: ego quidem baptizo in aquam paenitentiae. medius autem uestrum stat quem uos nescitis...

Here, the absence of *uos* after *baptizo* and *nescitis* rather than *non scitis* or *ignoratis* are best attested in later witnesses, but the initial *respondens illis* and the addition of *paenitentiae* are only found in early texts. Parallels for *quidem* and *stat* (rather than *stetit*) are spread across a range of manuscripts, but not the Vulgate. In sum, while certain readings appear to be characteristic of different stages in the Latin gospel text, there is no evidence of a wholesale accommodation of Fortunatianus' biblical quotations to a later version.²⁴

Another potential indication of interference in the biblical text of the commentary would be discrepancies between the opening citations and quotations of the same verse during the exegesis (or elsewhere in the commentary). These are very few indeed: by and large, the Old Latin forms are consistently cited, as in the six occurrences of *John* 1:11 all of which have *in sua propria*.²⁵ Three occasions are worthy of comment.²⁶ First, *John* 1:5 is normally quoted by Fortunatianus as *lux in tenebris lucet*. However, following this form in the sequence of the commentary at line 3006, he quotes it as *lux lucet in tenebris* at line 3011 before reverting to *lux in tenebris lucet* at line 3017. The variant is of interest as it is the form in VL 2, 4 and 13, Old Latin manuscripts which often parallel Fortunatianus' non-Vulgate readings, although here the differing word order appears to be spontaneous variation. Second, the inconsistency between *postera* in titles XIII and XVI, quoting *John* 1:29 and 1:43, and *altera* in XV quoting *John* 1:35, has already been noted above. In line 3280, however, where Fortunatianus discusses the time-frame of the first chapter of

²⁴ One interesting secondary reading in the commentary's transmission is *adferte* in a citation of *John* 2:8 at line 3332. This is only found in the *Expositio Iohannis iuxta Hieronimum*, a compilation with Irish connections (see further L.J. Dorfbauer, 'Neue Zeugnisse' [2014], 21-5): parallels for this compound verb are only found in two Old Latin manuscripts, VL 35 and 48, both of which are also of Irish origin.

²⁵ These occur at lines 750 (chapter title), 3039 (initial citation in commentary), 3041 and 3047 (exegesis) and 1867 and 3148 (illustrative quotations out of sequence).

²⁶ The omission of *autem* in the quotation of *John* 1:17 at line 3090 and the addition of *sum* in 1:23 at line 3115 may be passed over as insignificant adjustments to context, even though both forms are paralleled in gospel codices.

John, he gives *altera die* for 1:29 as well as 1:35, even though the exegesis of the former preserves the form *postera* found in the chapter titles.²⁷ Finally, while *John* 2:7 appears in the initial citation at line 3321 as *inplete <et> inpleuerunt eas usque ad summum*, the three references to this verse in the following eight lines all have *replere* in place of *inplere*. This verb is not found here in any surviving Latin codices, but there is an example of *repleatur* for γεμισθῇ in VL 14 at *Luke* 14:23.²⁸ This parallel suggests that the commentary could be evidence for a non-standard rendering in a gospel manuscript known to Fortunatianus but, as the initial citation has *inplere* twice and he uses *inplere* and *replere* interchangeably elsewhere in this work, it is also possible that he is responsible for introducing the alternative form of the text.

There are eleven verses in this opening section of *John* in which Fortunatianus has a reading not preserved in surviving Latin gospel codices. Six of these involve extra words: *Iohannis baptistae* in *John* 1:19 (line 3095), *confessus est dicens* in 1:20 (line 3096), *Fariseis et leuitis* in 1:24 (line 3138), *uidit Iohannis Iesum* in 1:36 (line 3192), *hora diei* in 1:39 (line 3199, discussed above), and *tunc* at the beginning of 2:5 (line 3309). Of these, the most compelling are the addition of *dicens* in 1:20, which is found in place of *confessus est* in VL 9A and Quodvultdeus, with the whole phrase matched by Pseudo-Isidore and Claudius of Turin, and *et leuitis* in 1:24, attested in different forms and locations in VL 2 and VL 3. It may be that the forms in 1:36 and 2:5 are loose introductions rather than verbatim quotations, although comparable examples of *tunc* exist elsewhere.²⁹ The others are likely to be explanatory insertions, following the pattern of the illustrative citations described above. In *John* 1:25, *tu* comes after *baptizas* rather than after *si*: this and the other three examples of changes in word order are hard to assess as they may have arisen during the transmission of Fortunatianus.³⁰ The remaining readings are varied. The singular *Hierosolima* in 1:19 (line 3095) and *respondens ... dixit* in 1:26 (line 3139) may be influenced by other biblical verses: this certainly seems to be the case for *interpretatum dicitur* in 1:42 (line 3208) just a few verses after this phrase in 1:38. There is no Greek parallel for these or the omission of *ei* after *dicit* in 2:4 (line 3300). Even *illius* rather than *eius* in 2:5 (line 3309), which looks

²⁷ There appears to be something amiss in the quotation of *John* 1:43 at line 3282, where all three witnesses read *post tertiam* (or *-um*) *diem uoluit proficisci*. The first three words may be a corruption of the expected *postera die*.

²⁸ At *John* 3:29, both *impletum* and *repletum* are attested as renderings of πεπλήρωται.

²⁹ On an otherwise unparalleled use of *tunc* on several occasions in VL 9A and VL 11A, see H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Gospel according to Mark in Two Latin Mixed-Text Manuscripts', *Revue Bénédictine* (forthcoming, 2016).

³⁰ The other instances are the placing of *ad eum* after *Hierosolima* in *John* 1:19 (line 3095), *duo ex discipulis* in 1:35 (line 3192) and *manserunt apud eum* in 1:39 (lines 3201 and 3204). Only the last of these is paralleled in Latin tradition, in the Type A *capitula* current at the time of Fortunatianus.

like an alternative rendering, occurs in the phrase which has just been suggested as a loose introduction. One variant reading is explicitly mentioned, namely the suggestion made famous by Origen that *Bethabara* rather than *Bethania* is the correct reading in *John* 1:28. It should be noted that on both occasions Fortunatianus gives the name as *Bethara* (line 3165 and 3167), which is also attested in the principal manuscript of Origen.

Conclusion

Dorfbauer's identification of the text transmitted by the Cologne manuscript as Fortunatianus of Aquileia's commentary on the Gospels provides not just a new insight into fourth-century biblical exegesis and its later influence but also a new witness to the Old Latin text of the Gospel according to *John*. Despite the ninth-century date of the manuscript, the high proportion of pre-Vulgate readings and other indications of antique practice suggest that it stands relatively close to the work's early tradition.³¹ The parallels with the north Italian biblical text of the mid-fourth century attested in VL 4 and 14 are extremely suggestive. Despite the mixture of earlier and later Old Latin forms and inconsistencies between some quotations of the same verse, it appears that the textual tradition provides a fairly reliable witness to the form of *John* used by Fortunatianus. It also permits the tentative identification of certain features of his method of treating scripture, such as occasional slips in memory and the insertion of glosses or adjustments, sometimes harmonising with a neighbouring verse. While it is not always possible to determine whether certain readings appeared in Fortunatianus' gospel codex, were introduced by him, or arose during the transmission of his commentary, the value of this evidence for the Old Latin tradition is beyond doubt.

³¹ These include the abbreviations and marginal annotations: see further L.J. Dorfbauer, 'Der Codex Köln' (2014), 34-6, 60-3 and 67.

APPENDIX:

Reconstruction of Fortunatianus' Text of *John*

In order to take full account of this witness, the entire text has been provided rather than a collation. Alternative readings and non-verbatim quotations are given in brackets; inconsistencies between multiple citations are marked as fractions with the number of occurrences of each form, while significant variants in the textual tradition are included with an appropriate siglum (K for Cologne, Dombibliothek 17; Z for Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 64; E for the *Expositio Iohannis iuxta Hieronimum*; V for Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4222; L for London, British Library Arundel 213; C for Cologne, Dombibliothek 15). Orthographical variations and nonsense readings have been ignored. Variations from the editorial text of the Stuttgart Vulgate are marked in bold (including omissions as ×). Ellipses indicate text not cited. Readings which it is doubtful were part of Fortunatianus' text are marked with question marks. Roman numerals indicate the number of the *capitulum* in Fortunatianus' commentary.

Commentary

[1:1] I. *in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum*. [1:2] *hoc erat in principio apud deum*.

[1:3] II. *omnia per ipsum* ($\frac{7}{8}$, **eum** $\frac{1}{8}$) *facta sunt et sine ipso* ($\frac{8}{9}$, **eo** $\frac{1}{9}$) *factum est nihil*.

[1:4] III. *quod factum est in ipso uita est et uita erat lux hominum*. [1:5] *et lux in tenebris lucet* ($\frac{2}{4}$, ~ *lux lucet in tenebris* $\frac{2}{4}$) *et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt*.

[1:6] IIII. *fuit homo missus a deo nomine* ($\frac{1}{2}$, cui nomen erat $\frac{1}{2}$) *Iohannis*. ...

[1:10] V. *in hoc* (om. E) *mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus illum* (eum E) *non cognouit*.

[1:11] VI. *in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt*.

[1:12] VII. *quodquod autem* (om. E) *receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri credentibus in nomine eius*. [1:13] *qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis* (om. ex uoluntate carnis K) *neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt*.

[1:14] VIII. *et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi unigeniti* ($\frac{1}{2}$, **missi**? $\frac{1}{2}$) *a patre*.

[1:15] VIII. *Iohannis testimonium perhibet de ipso et clamat dicens: hic est quem dixi uobis qui post me uenit ante me factus est quia prior me erat (+ uerbum?)*. [1:16] *quoniam de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus...*

[1:17] *quia lex per Moysen data est, gratia **autem** ($\frac{2}{3}$, om. $\frac{1}{3}$) et ueritas per Iesum Christum facta est.*

[1:18] X. *deum nemo uidit umquam (om. E) **nisi** unigenitus filius (om. E) qui est (om. E) in sinu patris ipse enarrauit. [1:19] et hoc est testimonium Iohannis (+ **baptistae**?) quando miserunt Iudei ab **Hierosolima ad eum** sacerdotes et leuitas ut interrogarent eum: tu quis es [1:20] et confessus est et non negauit. × confessus est **dicens quoniam** non sum ego Christus.*

[1:21] XI. × interrogauerunt eum **iterum dicentes**: × ($\frac{1}{2}$, **tu** $\frac{1}{2}$) *Elias es* × × **ait**: *non sum. (dixerunt illi?) propheta es* × *et (ille dixit?) non.* [1:22] *dixerunt × ei: quis **ergo es tu dic nobis** ut responsum demus his qui **nos** miserunt quid dicis de te ipso.* [1:23] *ait: ego uox clamantis in deserto: **parate** uiam domini ($\frac{2}{3}$, + **rectas facite semitas dei nostri** $\frac{1}{3}$) sicut dixit Esaias propheta.*

[1:24] XII. *et qui missi fuerant × a ($\frac{1}{2}$, ex $\frac{1}{2}$) Fariseis ($\frac{1}{2}$, et leuitis $\frac{1}{2}$). [1:25] ut **interrogarent** eum × dixerunt ei: quid ergo baptizas **tu** si non es Christus neque Elias neque propheta [1:26] **respondens illis Iohannis dixit**: ego **quidem** baptizo in **aquam paenitentiae**. medius autem uestrum **stat**, quem uos **nescitis**. [1:27] ... cuius ego non sum dignus × corrigiam calciamenti × **soluere**.*

[1:28] XIII. *haec in Bethania facta ($\frac{2}{3}$, **acta**? $\frac{1}{3}$) sunt trans Iordanem ubi erat Iohannis baptizans.*

[1:29] XIII. ***postera** ($\frac{2}{3}$, altera? $\frac{1}{3}$) **autem** die **uidit** Iohannis Iesum uenientem ad se et ait: ecce agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi. ... [1:33] et ego nesciebam eum sed qui **me** misit baptizare in aqua **ipse** mihi dixit: super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **de caelo** et manentem super eum **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto. [1:34] et ego uidi et testimonium perhibui quia hic est **electus** dei.*

[1:35] XV. *altera die iterum ($\frac{1}{3}$, ~iterum die $\frac{1}{3}$, om. iterum? $\frac{1}{3}$) stabat Iohannis et **duo** ex discipulis eius. [1:36] **uidit Iohannis** Iesum ambulans et **dixit**: ecce agnus dei **ecce** ($\frac{1}{2}$, om. $\frac{1}{2}$) **qui tollit peccatum** ($\frac{1}{2}$, peccata $\frac{1}{2}$) **mundi**. ... [1:37] ... duo (ex discipulis Iohannis) ... secuti sunt Iesum. [1:38] ... (quaerentes ubinam maneret). [1:39] ... (et cum uidissent locum ibi) manserunt **apud** eum ... **erat enim hora diei decima**. ... [1:42] (uocatur) Caefas quod **interpretatum dicitur** Petrus.*

[1:43] XVI. ***Postera die** uoluit **proficisci** in Galileam et inuenit Filippum. × **dixit illi** Iesus: *sequere me.* ... [1:45] (inueniens Nathanael dixit): quem scripsit Moyses in lege et prophetae inuenimus Iesum filium Ioseph **qui est** a Nazareth. [1:46] et dixit ei (et K) Nathanael: a Nazareth potest aliquid boni esse. dicit ei Filippus: ueni et uide. [1:47] ... **uerus** Israhelita (Nathanael et sine dolo) ... [1:48] ... priusquam te **uocaret** Filippus cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te. [1:49] ... **ait** ... *tu es filius dei. tu es rex Israhel (Israheli K).* [1:51] ... *uidebitis ... angelos dei (om. E) **descendentes** et ascendentes (~ ascendentes et descendentes E) **ad** filium hominis.**

[2:1] XVII. et **tertia die** ($\frac{1}{5}$, die **tertia** $\frac{2}{5}$, die tertio $\frac{2}{5}$) nuptiae factae sunt (~ factae sunt nuptiae E) in Chana Galileae. et erat **ibi** mater Iesu. ... [2:3] (deficiente igitur uino nuptiarum) dicit mater Iesu ad eum: uinum non habent **fili**. [2:4] et dicit × Iesus: quid mihi et tibi est mulier nondum uenit hora mea. [2:5] **tunc?** **dixit?** mater **illius** ministris: quodcumque dixerit uobis ($\frac{1}{3}$, ~ uobis dixerit $\frac{1}{3}$, om. uobis? $\frac{1}{3}$), facite. [2:6] erant autem ibi **hydriae** lapideae sex ... capientes × metretas binas uel ternas. [2:7] (quod autem ait ministris) inplete ... et (om. MSS) inpleuerunt ($\frac{1}{2}$, **repleuerunt** $\frac{1}{2}$) eas usque ad summum. [2:8] XVIII. × dicit **illis** Iesus: haurite × et (ad E) ferte architriclino ... [2:9] (hic ergo gustum istius uini dixit bonum nesciens) unde esset. ministri **uero** sciebant qui haurierant aquam ... [2:11] hoc **primum initium fecit** signorum Iesus ... et manifestauit gloriam suam et crediderunt in eum discipuli eius.

Illustrative citations

[3:3] (ad Nicodemi interrogationem respondetur) amen × dico tibi nisi quis **renatus** fuerit denuo non potest uidere regnum dei. [3:4] (ait) Nicodemus: quomodo potest **denuo renasci** (nasci V) homo ... [3:5] respondit **illi** Iesus: amen amen dico tibi nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest **intrare** in regnum dei.

[3:29] (Iohanne dicente) qui **sponsam** habet sponsus est ... (amici sponsi sicut ait idem Iohannis).

[3:31] (Iohannis euangelista dicit) qui de **susum** (sursum K^{corr}) uenit supra omnes est.

[4:34] (ut dominus ait) **mea esca hoc** est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui **me** misit **patris**.

[5:2] (siue autem hoc loco quinque porticus) [5:3] (in quibus) multitudo × languentium iacebat.

[5:5] (ut de illo qui triginta et octo annis infirmabatur)

[6:51] (sicuti ipse ait) ego sum panis **uitae** (uiuus C) qui de caelo descendi; **qui de hoc** pane manducauerit **non morietur?** in aeternum.

[7:38] (sicut dicit Iohannis euangelista) flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae (**uitae** K).

[8:25] (interrogatus a Iudeis quis esset ait) principium **quod** (quia V) × (et V) loquor uobis.

[8:44] uos ex ($\frac{1}{2}$, **de** $\frac{1}{2}$) patre zabolo estis et desideria patris uestri uultis **perficere?** ille **ab** initio **mendax fuit et homicida**.

[10:11] ego sum pastor bonus. **pastor** bonus animam suam **ponit** pro ouibus **suis**.

[12:20] (*quando*) **Graeci** quidam ... [12:21] (*uenerunt*) *ad Philippum* (*rogantes ut dominum uiderent*) ... [12:24] nisi granum **tritici in terram missum?** ($\frac{1}{2}$, *cadens in terra* $\frac{1}{2}$) mortuum fuerit ipsum solum manet; si autem mortuum **fuisset?**, multum fructum **adferret?**.

[12:31] (*alibi dicit*<*ur*>) princeps huius mundi eicietur (*eicitur* Z L) foras.

[14:2] (*dominus in euangelio repromittit quod multae mansiones sint apud patrem.*)

[14:6] (*ipse enim dixit*) ego sum uia et ueritas.

[15:15] iam non **dicam** uos seruos sed **fratres?**

[17:5] **honora** me ... **eo honore quo fui apud te** priusquam mundus esset.

[18:33] (*Pilatus dicit* ($\frac{1}{2}$, *ait* $\frac{1}{2}$)) tu es rex Iudeorum.

[18:37] (*et Iesus*): tu dicis ($\frac{2}{3}$, *dixisti* $\frac{1}{3}$) quia rex sum.

[19:15] **nos** non habemus regem nisi Caesarem.

[19:26] (*ad Mariam matrem suam de Iohanne discipulo*) ecce (**hic?** K) filius tuus.

[19:27] (*et ad ipsum Iohannem*) ecce mater tua. et **recepit** eam discipulus **ille apud se** ex illa **die**.

[19:30] (*cum omnia fecisset ... potassetque*) acetum **ait: inpletum** est.

[19:34] (*quasque prophetias dominus ut adimpleret, cum lancea militis percussus fuit et de latere suo cum aqua sanguinem misit.*)

[20:22] (*apostolis dedit dicendo*) accipite spiritum sanctum (*et*) insufflauit **in illos**.

[21:5] (*et alibi dicit*) pueri numquid pulmentarium habetis.

[21:20] (*ipse est qui super pectus domini recumbebat; ipse est quem* **prae ceteris** diligebat.)